2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[201]

The servant (*tjondong*), a definite figure in the pattern of the legong and a soloist during the introduction, is about to hand fans to the dancers

Flashing eyes and quivering fingers are important in the language of the legong

[P. 406 (LII)]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

grandchildren, and the hordes of *gendarowa*, *widiadari* and *widiadara*, all to be gathered in the east on the meeting-place (*pesamoewan* — the *Pepelik*).
And when they have come to the village at the east (*Désa Poerwa*), let them be seated on a seat of silver, gathered on the meeting-place, together with the *widiadari* and *widiadara*.

This long prayer the priest intoned to the accompaniment of his bell, which he rang steadily throughout the "invitation." He followed it with the rather clumsy execution of a few *mudras* (*moedras*), the intricate language of hand gestures inherited from the Hindus, of whose meaning he has not the least idea. He calls this not *memoedra* but *medjaja-djaja*.

Then, holding in his hand a rolled up leaf and flower (*kalpika*), he sang the *sloka*:

Wong sama samoewem Mahadéwa
Sarwa perani winta karem
Mamontjah sarwa papébioh
Pala soewa soewa sada siwem.

Om. Pardon me, Great God, who is merciful to all living!
Free me from all evils, protect me, O Sada Siwa! (see pages 30, 41, 44, 45)

He offered the water-bowl and jar with the formula:

Wong djang dji goeda ja nama
Wong scrija mawantoe soeka mawantoe.

Om, blessing homage to him who lives purely
Om, may there be prosperity, may there be happiness.
(see pages 39 and 26)

Making holy water (Mekarja tirta)

Now followed the making of holy water, begged from all the gods who had just been called, and from the demons, using the same prayers as those for the making of holy water preceding the *metjaroe* (pages 22–23). But he added, this time, a piece in a different rhythm (*saroeti*) of whose meaning again he had no idea:

Wong Gangga Sindoe Sarasoewati, goewawa ring darma wenadi, sarwa bala soemahenda, kana kama soewatang wenaka, nederang desti nendakijem, poernijem poerna djanlé soewati, nemangalem darpa dedéwi, poernem dara nior mamoernem, namato dia wisoewajem, déwi ko déwi kadjatijem, Siwa merta amastoeté, kaderantjani djata kési.
Ari doewété naina nama, menadi atoer najajem, déwa déwi dija ganem, meroe peredaksina rieh, poerwa to gana mamoenem, sama kelesa winasajem, sarwa moentjar dadi berata, soeraksaja nama lemamah.

Then spoken:

Atoera kelesa winasajem asoewantjana nama namah.

The holy water, thus made, was of two kinds, the *pengeloekatan* in the clay pot, and the *pebersihan*, in the bowl. The priest sprinkled the offer-

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

fying. The Dragon confronts the Witch and they hold altercations in ecclesiastical old Javanese. Followers of the Dragon, armed with krisses, enter and approach the Witch ready to attack her. But she waves her magic cloth—the cloth baby sling—and after each attack they crouch down before her, magically cowed. Finally they rush upon her in pairs, stabbing ineffectively at the Witch who has become a half-limp bundle in their tense arms. She is uninvolved and offers no resistance, but one by one they fall on the ground in deep trance, some limp, some rigid. From this trance they are aroused by the Dragon who claps his jaws over them, or by his priest sprinkling his holy water. Now, able to move again but not returned to normal consciousness, they move about in a somnambulistic state, turning their daggers which were powerless against the Witch, against their own breasts, fixing them against a spot which is said to itch unbearably. Thus symbolically they complete the cycle of the childhood trauma—approach to the mother, the rejection and the turn-in upon the self."[1]

Mead and Bateson have illustrated the two way relationship they see between the parent child behavior and the two great masked figures as projections of Mother image and Father image; especially on Plate 62 of *Balinese Character*, entitled "Parents: Witch and Dragon," six of Bateson's photographs juxtaposed show the characteristic behavior of the Rangda and Barong, and a witch-like mother holding her baby in the air, her eyes starting out of her head, her teeth exposed, and a protective father holding his baby. A photograph of the conflict between Witch and Dragon has the descriptive caption:

". . . a scolding match in archaic language (*Kawi*). The gestures typical of this conflict are clearly shown—the Dragon expressing anger by sudden forward thrusts of his head, and the Witch stretching out her arm with all five fingers splayed and rigid, a gesture not of physical attack but rather oriented to make the opponent powerless."[2]

A series of juxtaposed movie films made by Bateson show up even more clearly parallels between parent child behavior, the stimulation and frustration of the child, leading to tantrum, and the stylization of the masked play, leading to the trance seizure which these authors see as the equivalent of the infantile tantrum.

But there is another aspect to the behavior of the Witch which deserves emphasis, and that is the character of Rangda as the personification of Fear. Probably the usual bogeys in cultures which bring up their children in the fear of them are scary, but they do not themselves act out the feeling. Dr. Mead has stated this aspect of Rangda as follows:

The fascination which the figure of the Witch holds for the Balinese imagination can only be explained when it is recognized that the Witch is not

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942, pp. 34-35.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 179.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

only a fear-inspiring figure, but that she is Fear. Her hands with their long menacing fingernails do not clutch and claw at her victims, although children who play at being witches do curl their hands in just such a gesture. But the Witch herself spreads her arms with palms out and her fingers flexed backward, in the gesture which the Balinese call *kapar*, a term which they apply to the sudden startled reaction of a man who falls from a tree. The Witch reconstitutes the figure of the mother, not only as the teasing, powerful, unsatisfying person who aroused one's emotions only to throw one back upon oneself, but also as the person who cried "Snake!" and "Wildcat!" and so drew the child to her bosom by a display of fear. Only when we see the Witch as herself afraid, as well as frightening, is it possible to explain her appeal and the pathos which surrounds her as she dances, hairy, forbidding, tusked, and alone, giving her occasional high eerie laugh."

That the fear component in Balinese character structure should be projected onto a figure which itself plays fear is quite congruent with what has been called the narcissistic character of these people—the self-contained, somewhat aloof bearing in interpersonal relations and the concern with self, the tendency to turn own affect into artistic products, music and dance, rather than to be concerned with goals and mastery techniques or with affect oriented toward another person.

Interrogation of informants corroborated the hypothesis that fear and the teaching of fear were associated, even on a conscious level, more closely with the mother than with the father. For example, one informant said, "My father taught me not to say what I thought and not to believe what others said; my mother taught me, when I went to a strange village, to beware of eating any food." Further corroboration is given in the complacency and assurance with which the Balinese admits to fear, an outstanding fact in this culture which I noted a number of years ago in a first attempt to outline what I called "the Balinese temper."[31] For Europeans and Americans brought up to value courage and to be ashamed to fear, it was at first surprising to find a Balinese happily stating "Sing bani," "I do not dare," as if he expected approval for his lack of daring. Indeed, where mothers consistently frighten their young children, as Mead and Bateson have shown that the Balinese do, in order to teach them the right way to behave and how to avoid dangers in the outside world, a demonstration of one's awareness of danger would meet with maternal approval and, by extension, could be offered in later life as an aspect of one's character for which one could expect to be generally approved. Where, in our culture, parents speak of "putting the fear of God into him" when they want to make a good child,

[30] *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.
[31] Belo, 1935, p. 139.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

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857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
●201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
578 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[533] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.

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Behavior at the Plays

Whenever there is a performance of dancing, drama, or the shadow-show, the entire village attends. The audience is packed closely around the four sides of the "stage"—an oblong of level ground marked off with bamboos. The first arrivals squat as near as possible, folded up into the least possible space and pressed against each other, the late comers stand in rows eight or ten deep at the back, the rear-most able to catch only an occasional glimpse of a performer's headdress. In this tight formation the audience remains from the beginning, which for a play may be anywhere between the hours of nine and midnight, to the end which comes about dawn. The whole temper of the audience is, from the actor's standpoint, ideal—watching, concentrated as one man, happy and pleasantly disposed in the warm contact of a large group of their kind, in festive mood, ready to enjoy themselves to the utmost. On the appearance of a hero, particularly graceful and gorgeous in his attire, a whispered "Bèh!" of admiration issues from a hundred mouths; and when the clowns cavort, or a rough joke is made, the entire audience rocks with mirth, the high shrieks of the women's laughter rising above the guffaws of the men. The smallest children, from two or three years upward, constitute the first rows of the audience surrounding the stage. They arrive long before the performers have any thought of beginning, and sit, in quiet expectancy, sometimes for several hours before the play begins. If for any reason a child arrives late, he will with confidence squeeze his way through the crowd, pushing past people of higher rank and superior in age, to a good place in the very front. During the performance, the children watch every detail of the action with intentness.[5] Generally even the tiniest ones stay through the night, although they fall asleep for hours at a time, and only manage to wake up for the most exciting parts, battles, or the enacting of bewitchment.

Older boys and girls, especially those who have passed adolescence, come to the performance in groups of two or three friends.

[5] In connection with the close integration of the Balinese children with the life of their elders, one sees a parallel with the gentle and maternal Arapesh people, as described by Margaret Mead. She says of their children, ". . . games are played very seldom. More often the times when children are together in large enough groups to make a game worth while are the occasions of a feast, there is dancing and adult ceremonial, and they find the rôle of spectatorship far more engrossing." And again, ". . . early experience accustoms them to be part of the whole picture, to prefer to any active child-life of their own a passive part that is integrated with the life of the community" (*Sex and Temperament*, New York, William Morrow and Company, 1935, pp. 57-58).